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anything useful or practical relative to the same, his own boasts to that effect notwithstanding. He occupied himself with the problem of finding the longitude at sea, and he boldly asserted that he had discovered its solution, not only by means of the variation of the magnetic needle, but also by the declination of the sun, but both methods are useless and erroneous. The same idea must be entertained of his nautical theories and sailing directions.

In the year 1548, Cabot left Spain, "to serve and inhabit in England," where "he would seem to have exercised a general supervision over the maritime concerns of the country." Being brought in contact with the Merchant Adventurers, Cabot suggested to them the route to Cathay by the northeast, and in the year 1553 an expedition was directed to Cathay, which was unsuccessful. Cabot retired from public life in the winter of 1556-57. London is doubtless the place where he died; but the year of his death is yet unknown. Diligent researches have been instituted in Worcester (where the early Bristol Registers are preserved) and in London, to discover his last will, but in vain, thus far.

Cabot was married to a Spanish girl called Catalina Medrano, who was still living in 1533. When yet living in England, Cabot had a daughter, probably by a first marriage with an Englishwoman. As to his brothers, Sanctus and Lewis, no traces are found of either of them after the year 1497, when they were living at Bristol with their mother. Some families from Normandy and Languedoc claim kinship to Sebastian Cabot. The Cabots de la Fare, in the south of France, set forth, in 1829, their genealogical pretensions before the courts. They strove to establish that Peter Cabot was son of Lewis, son of John, the navigator. Peter Cabot lived in Saint-Paul-la-Coste, and he said in his testament that his descent from John Cabot is duly established. But the aforesaid testament does not exist.

N.-E. DIONNE.

The Growth of British Policy, An Historical Essay. By Sir J. R. SEELEY, Litt. D., K.C.M.G., formerly Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (New York: Macmillan and Co. 1895. Two vols., pp. xxiv, 436, 403.)

The History of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain. By MONTAGU BURROWS, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1895. Pp. xiv, 372.)

WHAT is Seeley's place among English historians? Is he destined to rank at all among the historical scholars of his generation? Or will he be considered in the future as a brilliant writer and accomplished man of letters whom Fate placed in the chair of history at the University of Cambridge, and who was thus induced to devote his attention to the composition of volumes of history? These are questions naturally suggested by

the posthumous publication of Sir John Seeley's *The Growth of British Policy*. In a few modest pages, Professor G. W. Prothero, of Edinburgh, the recognized representative of scientific historical work at Cambridge for many years, has sketched the uneventful life of Seeley in a memoir prefixed to the work on which he spent the last years of his life. It shows clearly that Seeley had no overpowering attraction for the study of history; his first book was a volume of poems; his first professorship was the chair of Latin at University College, London; and his reputation was made by the publication of *Ecce Homo*, a study of the human side of the life of Christ. When he was appointed to succeed Charles Kingsley as Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, his previous training no more fitted him for the place than his predecessor's historical novels had justified his appointment. He was not a pupil of the great German teachers of history and editors of historical documents, who laid down the canons of historical research and founded the scientific study of history. He professed no sympathy with the patient workers who were investigating the primary authorities, and endeavored to show their pupils how history should be studied and written. The whole bent of his mind was opposed to documentary study. His conception of history was entirely different to that of the scientific school, and Professor Prothero has accurately and clearly pointed out Seeley's views as a teacher and a writer. "Though he did not coin the phrase 'History is past politics, and politics present history,'" says Professor Prothero, "it is perhaps more strictly applicable to his view of history than to that of its author. 'The indispensable thing,' he said, 'for a politician is a knowledge of political economy and of history.' And again, 'Our University must be a great seminary of politicians.' History was, for him, not the history of religion, of art, or society; still less was it a series of biographies; it was the history of the State. The statesman was to be taught his business by studying political history, not with a view to extracting arguments in favor of particular political theories, but in order to understand, by the comparative and historical method, political science, the science of the State" (pp. xii, xiii).

Since such was his attitude, and since his books prove it to have been characteristic and permanent, no surprise need be felt at the indignant denial of Seeley's right to be considered a scientific historian, frequently put forth by adherents of the modern documentary school of writers and teachers. Yet it is necessary to protest against the narrow view that would exclude from the ranks of historians all but the investigators, editors, and critical students of primary authorities. Such an exclusion would bar out the great names of the past like Thucydides and Tacitus, as well as brilliant writers after the manner of Seeley. It may be, and it is, right to deny to them a position among scientific historians, but it would be a disaster for the cause of historical study to reject entirely their claims. *Quot homines, tot sententiæ* is a true maxim with regard to history; there may be many ways of endeavoring to arrive at the truth about the past; some ways are typical of certain centuries and certain individuals, but as long as the

intention of the writer and worker is honest, it is unjust for the adherents of any particular school to apply their canons too rigorously, and to arrogate to themselves the right to condemn historians whose methods happen to differ from their own.

Sir John Seeley's last book well illustrates his methods, and will doubtless give opportunity for passing censure upon them. Throughout the two closely printed volumes hardly a single reference is given to authorities. Though dealing with a period bristling with historical controversies, the narrative flows smoothly on with an occasional footnote once in a hundred pages or so, mentioning an obscure magazine article or the place where a document may be found. Occasionally, indeed, secondary historians of note like Gardiner and Philippon are quoted, but, as a rule, statements are made without the slightest attempt to prove their accuracy. It is curious in this respect to compare Seeley's volumes with the works of any standard modern French or German writer, or with such an English writer as Mr. J. H. Wylie, whose third volume on the reign of Henry IV. has just appeared, in which references to authorities often fill half the printed page. And again in its literary style Seeley's last work offends the eye of the strictly scientific writer; for he delights in the use of striking and novel epithets and phrases, which are more apt to convey a false impression or a half truth than is the use of sober language. And lastly evidence is given throughout the book of a desire to lay disproportionate weight upon certain views of the writer; whole pages and whole chapters are written around certain picturesque formulae which are thus brought out into such prominence as to vitiate the value of the book as history. To some extent Sir John Seeley disarms the severe critic by entitling his book not a history but an historical essay. "By calling it not a history but an essay," he says, "I mean first that it deals not in narrative but in discussion, secondly that it does not aim at completeness" (p. 3). The pity is that only too many untrained readers, relying on Seeley's position as a Professor of History, will regard his statements as proved and authentic, and will refer to his essay as to an authoritative source of knowledge instead of looking upon it as a brilliant contribution to the discussion of certain historical questions.

"The subject of this book," Sir John Seeley states at the beginning of his introduction, "is a particular aspect of our state, namely, that which it wears towards foreign states, during a certain period." Seeley was nothing if not patriotic. To him as a student of national politics the topic of absorbing interest was the growth of the British Empire. His most famous and stimulating historical work is without doubt *The Expansion of England*, and it was in recognition of the service he had done to the state in bringing home to English people a patriotic sense of the greatness and importance of the Empire that Lord Rosebery, when he came into office in 1894, recommended that the Cambridge professor should be knighted and enrolled in the colonial Order of St. Michael and St. George. The two volumes on *The Growth of British Policy* were intended to form the introductory chapters of a larger work dealing with the same

subject. The task Seeley set himself was to investigate the movement of England from the South British monarchy to a world-wide empire. He rightly perceived that the beginning of this movement belonged to the reign of Elizabeth, and the most stimulating and valuable part of his book is the first section discussing the reign of the famous Tudor queen. He accurately notes the importance of the long peace of Elizabeth which preceded the better known war of Elizabeth as the characteristic feature of her reign, and skilfully examines the somewhat intricate policy which enabled her to maintain her country at peace. After examining the reigns of the first Stuarts, Sir John Seeley next discusses the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell and the Military State, giving perhaps, as is the tendency nowadays, too much credit to Cromwell for carrying out the policy inevitably forced upon him by his position. The reigns of the later Stuarts are then dealt with as a second period of reaction, and the book concludes with a study of William III. and the Commercial State. Throughout its pages the reader will find striking discussions of certain leading topics. Sir John Seeley is not the first writer to notice the importance of the royal marriages in the sixteenth century and the national good fortune which resulted from the unfruitfulness of the marriage of Mary Tudor with Philip of Spain, but few writers on the same field have so strikingly commented upon the subject or upon the value to England of Elizabeth's persistency in refusing to give her hand in marriage. Many writers likewise have dwelt upon the importance of the insular policy, recognizing that the people of the British Islands could not expand beyond the seas until England, Scotland, and Ireland were firmly amalgamated, but few previous writers have so clearly demonstrated the efforts of Cromwell and the success of the Revolution of 1688 in attaining this end. It is by bringing into prominence such points as these and dwelling upon them with the felicity of language natural to him that Sir John Seeley has constructed the most suggestive volumes on English history that have appeared for many years. Though his work may not be considered history in the strictly scientific sense, it is nevertheless a brilliant literary effort and a stimulating historical essay.

By a curious coincidence, Professor Montagu Burrows of Oxford published a volume on *The History of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain* within a few months of the appearance of Sir John Seeley's posthumous work. Professor Burrows has never attained so wide a reputation on both sides of the Atlantic as Seeley, but he has in his time done some useful historical work. He terms his book a history, but as a matter of fact it is far slighter in texture and as devoid of references to authorities as is Seeley's essay. He practically begins where Seeley leaves off, for he passes over foreign policy down to the end of the reign of William III. in the first fifty pages of his book. The slightness of the volume makes it unnecessary to criticise it at any length. Professor Burrows makes no pretence of having undertaken an elaborate or original study, and there is little or nothing in his book that cannot be found elsewhere or that does not naturally suggest itself to the intelligent reader of English history. There

are some small mistakes of fact and some curious statements of opinion that need not be here dilated upon, for they will be discovered at the first glance. It is more gracious to point out one decided merit in Professor Burrows's volume, and that is the attention he pays to naval history. The author served in the English navy for some years and has never forgotten his old profession. This makes him a particularly interesting commentator on naval affairs. The best book he has ever written is his life of that forgotten English worthy, Admiral Lord Hawke, and he shows to the best advantage in dealing with the relation between the commercial policy and the foreign policy of Great Britain as revealed in her treatment of the royal navy and in the course of naval operations. Professor Burrows, like Sir John Seeley, is too much of a patriot to be a very judicial historian, and his history of British foreign policy is in part an apology, but to a greater degree a whole-souled eulogy. In short, it may be said that a reading of Professor Burrows affords a curious contrast to the aggressive Anglophobia which marks the writings of foreign authors upon British foreign and colonial policy, and it is probable that posterity will form a judgment between the two extremes and regard the British statesmen of the eighteenth century neither as greedy grabbers of unconsidered territories nor as unselfish benefactors of the whole human race.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

Mémoires de Jean François Thoury, publiés par CHARLES BOÿ.
(Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1896. Pp. viii, 317.)

WITHIN the last two or three years, several interesting volumes have been published in Paris of memoirs and recollections of those partisans of the *ancien régime*, who left France at different periods during the French Revolution and went into exile on account of their political faith. These émigrés, as they were called, belonged to all ranks of society and were induced to emigrate by very different motives. The majority, however, belonged to the nobility or the clergy, and the privations which they endured in foreign lands seemed all the harder to bear in the light of their former prosperity and social consideration. More than one attempt has been made to write the history of the French émigrés, and Prince Lobanoff is said to have in the press a carefully tabulated list of the names of more than fifteen thousand of them. But the historical works published up to this time and such documents as that just mentioned cannot convey an idea of the real sufferings of the French émigrés with the poignant fidelity of volumes of personal memoirs. In every country in Europe dwelt these unhappy exiles, while their fatherland under the rule of the Republic was inaugurating a new order of things at home and making the name of France glorious upon the battle-field. England, Germany, Italy, and Spain were the chief resorts of the French émigrés; their most famous colony was at Hamburg, but many thousands of them were likewise to be found in London, in Vienna, and in Rome. Most of the memoirs of émigrés recently